

1560 / 858.

# S P E E C H

WITHOUT DOORS.

By a LOBBY-MEMBER.

Printed for J. WILLIAMS, the Corner of the *Mitre Tavern,*  
*Fleet-street.*

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STEPHEN

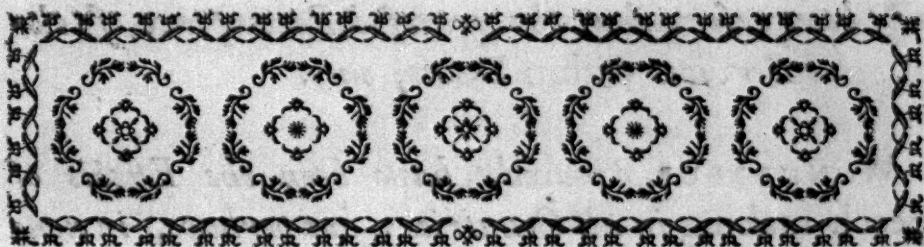
WITHOUT DOORS

By a Lobby-Member

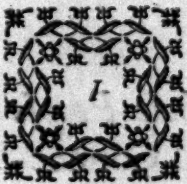
James M. J. Williams, the Clerk of the House







TO THE  
R E A D E R.

 F ' From the Fullness of the Heart, the  
' Mouth speaketh' — *it cannot be thought  
strange, that (not having the privilege  
within) I should endeavour to unburthen  
mine, in a Speech without Doors; — and though I  
am sensible, it may want the weight of Authority, it  
will at least have the unusual merit of Disinterested-  
ness to recommend it. ——— What venal Views?  
What Place or Pension? What City-Box or State-  
Pen? can possibly be imputed as the Motives of mak-  
ing it; when it is considered, that these Rewards have*

*long been reserved as the grateful Recompence of elo-  
quential Services within Doors, only.*

*Wonderful, indeed, have been the Effects of  
Speech-making in all Countries; but perhaps, in none  
more particularly so, than in our own, where, we fre-  
quently see a political Adventurer in this Science, ad-  
vance himself from the humblest Station among the  
People, to almost an absolute Dominion over them.*

*SUCH is the magic Influence of this Tongue-talent,  
that I have known one Speech banish its Speaker  
from the presence and service of his Sovereign; and  
another, reinstate him in the royal Favour, and even  
procure him the most lucrative Employments in the  
Kingdom.*

*I HAVE known one Speech inflame a whole People  
against German-Measures and continental Connec-  
tions; and I have known another convince them of  
the propriety of risking even their Lives and For-  
tunes in support of them.*

*I HAVE known one Speech blacken a whole Minis-  
try, and render it the public Odium of the Nation;  
and I have known another restore its Purity, and  
make*



## TO the READER.

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*make it the Object of popular Admiration. — But what is still more extraordinary, all these Speeches I have known, flow from the oratorical Tongue of the same identical Orator.*

ERRONEUS would be the opinion, that this Contrariety of Doctrine must proceed from a Contrariety of Principles, since, it is well known, the first Qualification of a modern political Orator, is to have — no Principle at all.

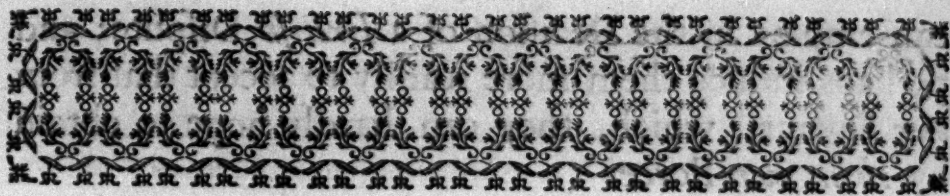
AND indeed, infinite are the Conveniences accruing to the Orator from this un-principled Qualification: — He may, with an ‘unembarrassed Countenance,’ at one time ridicule, at another, deify his SOVEREIGN; — He may, without the imputation of Inconsistence, adopt the different Characters of Wig and Tory — Patriot and Courtier — Briton and Hanoverian — just as they shall best answer his popular or courtly Ambition.

BUT, though the established Professor may boldly free himself from these oratorical Shackles, — a Regard to Truth, — Similarity of Sentiment, and — Consistency of Character, yet, should the humbler Graduate presume upon the like Licence, he would  
probably

*probably excite rather the Contempt than Admiration of his Audience; for this reason, therefore, I have prudently declined copying (in the following Speech) the daring Manner of a certain great Master: however, if no fulsome Flattery, no unmanly Abuse disgrace it; if the Heart shall throughout appear to have been the Prompter of the Tongue, it may (Gentle Reader) be deemed not altogether unworthy thy attention, though perhaps unadorned with the courtly Nothingness of a T\*\*L — the urbane Billingsgate of a B\*\*D, — or the dictatorial Pomposity of a P\*\*T.*





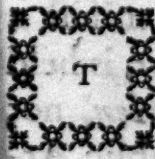


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## S P E E C H

## WITHOUT DOORS.

S I R,


 HE late glorious Effort of our Arms, in the Reduction of the HAVANNAH, cannot fail to afford every true *Briton* the most sensible Satisfaction; not so much, as it adds to the Laurels we have already gained; as that it may possibly be the last *sanguinary* Proof of our Country's Prowess in the just Vindication of it's Rights, and Maintainance of it's Honour. — A Blow so interesting, so decisive, so unlike some boasted *German* Skirmishes, may probably convince our Enemies, that the *Sword* is the most improper *Plenipotentiary* they can

can employ in the Decision of a *British* Dispute; and perhaps induce them more readily to accept that from *our* Favour, which, they can hardly hope to obtain by *their own* Force.

BUT whatever effect, Sir, our Success may have upon the *foreign* Enemies of GREAT BRITAIN, I find it is likely to produce very little, on its *domestic* Ones, I mean those Partizans of *anti-ministerial* Faction, whose Clamours, no Success can silence, whose Malevolence no Merit can subdue. — Victory, which was the prevailing Plea, in favour of a *former* Minister, is now to lose its efficacy in behalf of the *present*; and no tributary Applause is permitted to celebrate the *greatest military Atchievement*, perhaps, our Annals can produce; though I remember, when, bringing home a few *captive Cannon*, (and that, at the expence of almost their own weight in *British* Bul- lion) was deemed an Exploit, worthy a *public Tri- umph* in Honour of a Minister. — How manifest a Proof! that not, *what is done*, but *who does it*, is held the sole Standard of popular Merit, and that *Men*, not *Measures*, are become the only Object of public At- tention.

No sooner, Sir, had a late *lucrative Resignation* taken place, but we were alarmed with all the fatal Predictions of impending Ruin; the guardian GE- NIUS of our Nation was declared to have forsaken it; — Princes instantaneously became *Fools*; Princesses  
Pro-



*Prostitutes* — and Ministers Cowards ; — *Valour* was no longer to inspire our *Armies*, — *Wisdom* no longer to direct our *Councils*, — the *Fountain* of *public Credit* was to be polluted, — the Channels of *Supply* stopt, — and BRITAIN to become a tame and easy Victim to her impotent Enemies. — Such were proclaimed to be the certain effects of our TWIN-STARS, our political CASTOR and POLLUX having withdrawn their tutelary Influence. — Had all these melancholy consequences really happened, might we not (if I may be permitted to play upon the Word) with great propriety have laid the Blame upon our STARS ?

IF these *sole* Guardians of our Country considered their Continuance in Power, as essential to the Welfare of it ; — was it the part of a PATRIOT, by a voluntary Resignation, to sacrifice the *public* Welfare to any *private* Consideration ? — If they did not — why is every Art so assiduously (I might say, perfidiously) practiced to inculcate the fallacious Doctrine, that their *Power* and the *Prosperity* of our Country are inseparable ?

SHOULD a *General Officer*, Sir, however well he may have behaved, at last desert his Station in a time of Danger ; would his complaint of not being made *Generalissimo* be deemed a satisfactory excuse for such Desertion, especially if it should appear, he was prudent enough to receive a *valuable Consideration* for his Commission ? — ought, I say, Sir, the Ap-  
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plause of the Army to follow this unmilitary *Recreant*, or, ought it not rather to be transferred to *Him* who had Resolution enough to supply, and Bravery enough to maintain the Post which had been so ignominiously quitted?

BUT whatever Skill, Sir, these antiministerial Advocates may boast themselves to be possessed of in the *Art of Politics*; it is evident they are by no means endowed with the *Spirit of Prophecy*, since the Event has unluckily, in every instance, falsified their Predictions. — Victory, we still see hovering over our Ensigns; and the Enemy still flying from our invincible Legions. — We have seen the FRENCH expelled his Majesty's *electoral Dominions*,\* deprived of their *own Islands*, and chastised for their Presumption in daring to attack *one* of ours. — We have seen the SPANIARDS (notwithstanding that *fatal Procrastination* so much complained of) humbled by one decisive Effort of our Arms; their boasted impregnable Forts subdued, and a whole Navy at once made captive to the *British* Flag. — We have seen the *Wealth* of our own Merchants protected, and, at the same Time, the *Treasures* of the Enemy enriching our Shores in an abundance altogether unparalleled; nor amidst all this has the *Good Faith* of our Country been  
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\* We are not to conclude from hence, that the present Minister has adopted the modern Paradox of — conquering AMERICA in GERMANY; — since I dare say, he is heartily sorry his Predecessor has entailed this *temporary* Necessity of rivalling him in so favourite a Branch of his ministerial Glory.



violated by a refusal of Succour to an *oppressed Ally*. — Let the Sons of Slander blush, when they are told, all this has been performed, and that, in a *few months* too, by a MINISTRY under whose Direction ‘*the Dignity of the Crown, the Honour of his Majesty, the Glory of the Nation, and the important Acquisitions made, during the late Ministry,*’ were represented in a late *inflammatory Performance*\* to be unsafe. — From this Conduct, does it appear, that — ‘*Measures more feeble, more pusillanimous, less encouraging to our real Friends, less hostile to our Enemies*’ have been adopted, as the same Author so sagaciously foretold; or is it plain, (as he affirms) ‘*The new Ministry were accommodating themselves at any Rate tamely to become the Dupes of Spain.*’

HAVING seen what this MINISTER (with all his spirit of Procrastination and timidity of Conduct) *has done*, — let us next consider, Sir, what He *has not done*. — Has this SEJANUS, WOLSEY, VILLARS, DUDLEY, SPENCER, GAVESTON, MORTIMER, in short, this every wicked MINISTER in One; — Has he, I say, ever presumed to *over-awe* his Sovereign, or give Law to Councils? — Has he unconstitutionally *packed* Parliaments or *bribed* Boroughs? — Has he appropriated the public Treasure to the *Corruption* of Government instead of the *Support* of it, or levied any

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\* OBSERVATIONS ON the PAPERS, relative to the RUPTURE with SPAIN.

*oppressive Tax* to grind the Face of the Poor? — Has he dissipated the *Wealth* and negotiated away the *Honour* of the Nation in any expensive and ignominious *German Treaty*, or in any one instance sacrificed the *Privileges* of the *People* to the *Prerogative* of the *Crown*? — Have our Armies been *less successful*, or is the *British Flag* become *less respectable* under *his Administration*? — Let but his Accusers acquit the NOBLE LORD of these Offences, — and no one shall more readily join with them than myself in convicting him of being *born* (if they please) upon one of the most barren Mountains in SCOTLAND, and of having had the *traiterous Ambition* not only to *gain*, but even to *deserve* the Favour and Confidence of his ROYAL MASTER. — The only two Articles of Impeachment, which I think have yet been exhibited against him, though possibly we may soon hear his *Stature* and *Complexion* objected as *High Crimes* and *Misdeemeanours*, and the very *Letters* of his Name decyphered into *ministerial Treason*.

BUT to what a lamentable exigence of Slander must his Enemies be drove, when we see them reduced to the pitiful necessity of pleading *Locality of Birth* in Bar of ministerial *Merit*? — Do they not know, that Merit is subject to no local Incapacities, but whether sprung from the *Cottage* or the *Court*, whether bred in the barren Regions of the *North*, or more fertile Plains of the *South*, it still maintains its *Pre-eminence*, and equally claims the Countenance  
and



and Support of the GOOD and GREAT : — This alone first recommended the NOBLE LORD to the *Service* of his *Prince*; this alone has confirmed him in the *Confidence* of his *Monarch*. — Happy would it have been for *England*, had all her Princes been actuated by the like Principles in the choice of their Ministers, then, no *party Distinction*, no *Court-jobb*, no *parliamentary Influence* had been made the *Price* of *Preferment*, or become the sole *Tenure* of *Power* ; nor, perhaps, an *Englishman* who might be the Disgrace of *one* Country, preferred to a *Scotchman*, confessedly the Honour of *another*.

SURELY, Sir, some odd Fatality must attend this devoted Minister, who is so peculiarly unfortunate, as ever to be accused, not for what — *he has done* — but what — *he will do*. — Few months are past, since we saw him publicly arraigned, tried, and condemned for the feeble *Prosecution* of a War, even before he had the *Conduct* of it: but having foiled his *militant* Predecessor at his own Weapons, He is next convicted, aye, and executed too in the wishes of his Enemies, for *making* what certainly was *not then made* — A DISHONOURABLE PEACE. — Thus, in his case, *Fact* is ever forestalled, and *Sentence* pronounced before *Trial*; and though by our Laws, Guilt must *precede* Condemnation; by our *Politics*, it seems, Condemnation may *precede* Guilt. — A *Rule of Justice* the NOBLE LORD'S Accusers, may indeed,

deed, very safely inculcate, as they themselves are certainly in no danger of being *injured* by it.

THOUGH a Friend, Sir, to PEACE, yet as the Terms of it are yet the improper Object of public Information, I shall not pretend to *justify* them. — Had the Enemies to it an equal degree of Modesty and Candour, they would equally forbear to *condemn* them; yet, thus much I will now venture to assert, that no *Time* can be more proper to treat of it than the *present*. A Nation, when in its meridian of Success will ever be able to obtain the greater Advantages; the Fate of War is at the best precarious, and no State has ever yet experienced *Conquest* to be *perpetual*: an Attempt of universal Dominion will naturally excite universal Opposition; and whether this Island is a Match for the *combined* terra-queous Globe, may be much doubted, notwithstanding the Quixote — Delusions with which the Populace have been infatuated, for merely personal purposes, to gratify the *Ambition* and preserve the *Power* of some declining Minister.

HISTORY, Sir, affords abundant proofs, that it is more politic to treat with an Enemy while they have something *left, they don't care to lose*, than defer it till they have *lost all they care to keep*. Prudence in the first instance will dictate to them every reasonable Concession; *Despair*, in the latter, will provoke them to reject all; and *Despair* has been known to effect



effect that, which *deliberate Valour* has been found unequal to.

WHEN I consider, Sir, the Vigour which the *present Ministry* has exerted in the prosecution of the War, I cannot doubt, but an equal degree of Fortitude will support them, in the great Work of Peace, and that they will not suffer themselves to be diverted from it by Clamours fomented through the Rage of *disappointed Ambition*, and merely *self-interested Motives*. — Though a *Peace* may be ever so *necessary* or *expedient* for the Enemy, let us not therefore arrogantly conclude, it would be totally *unbeneficial* to ourselves. — Though *Triumphs* were to accumulate upon *Triumphs*, yet to stop the Tears of the Widow, silence the Groans of the Orphan, and alleviate the Burdens of the Poor, — to reinstate public Credit, restore Trade (that Life-blood of our Country) to its natural and uninterrupted Channels, — to turn our ‘*Swords* into *Plough-shares*, and *Spears* into ‘*Pruning-hooks*,’ — are Advantages which, permit me to say, should not be slighted, and which, notwithstanding the Mob-Maxim — ‘*TAKE and HOLD*’ — are well worth every *reasonable* Concession to procure. — The Magnanimity of a Nation is no less displayed in its *Moderation* than its *Valour*; and to distress Ourselves, merely to destroy Others, is such a savage kind of Glory as no civilized Country ought to be ambitious of attaining.

DEFENCE,

DEFENCE, not ACQUISITION, Sir, was the original Object of the present War, and therefore a *good Peace* by no means depends upon *how much* We obtain from the Enemy, but in obtaining *so much* as is adequate to the future *Security* of the State, and a proper Vindication of its *Honour*; such a *Peace*, I may venture to say, *will*, such a *Peace* I am sure *ought* to satisfy every honest and sensible Man, however it may disappoint the Views of those all-conquering Spirits, who seem to have adopted the magnanimous Maxim of a certain BLUSTERING HERO

‘ *Fighting for fighting’s sake’s sufficient Cause,*  
‘ *Fighting to me’s Religion and the Laws,*

not considering, that every *Bonfire* which blazes for our Victories, furnishes at the same time a *Funeral-Pile* for our brave Countrymen; and the very Bells, while they celebrate our *Success*, in some measure ring out the *Knell* of our Country.

LET not then these Advocates of *War*, be too indifferent about the Blessings of a *Peace*, only because a *particular* Minister may not have the Merit of making it: — Let but personal animosity subside, and the *Crew* do their duty, they will find the STATE-SHIP equally able to *weather* the *Storm*, or as *safely* brought into *Port*, whether a PITT or a BUTE be stationed at the Rudder.

